

failure to relinquish the newly gained Cham-Đại Việt borderlands. But he followed the traditional victory pattern by moving significant numbers of Chams north into the Red River delta, while colonizing their frontier agricultural lands as Đại Việt's 'Thirteenth Province'. The innovative addenda to his 1471 CE victory was Thánh Tông's subsequent monopolistic control of foreign trade in the Gulf of Tonkin, for the new archaeological evidence substantiates that he also consolidated Thị Nại's trade and ceramics production into a special commercial zone centred on the Vân Đồn port and its linked Chu Đậu artisan community.

As definitive evidence, the Cù Lao Chàm wreck's (c. 1490 CE) cargo consisted of a substantial number of Vietnamese ceramic wares, including a new Cham-style bowl.⁶⁴ When pairing Thánh Tông's purposeful destruction of the Gò Sành kilns in 1471 CE with the archaeological evidence that there was subsequent expansion of Đại Việt ceramics production at Chu Đậu and other new ceramics centres in the Red River upstream, scholars concluded that the collective documentation attests that Lê Thánh Tông had taken Champa's ceramics producers back to Đại Việt with him. The concentration of ceramics production in the downstream Vân Đồn area was foundational to Đại Việt's substantial increase in ceramics productivity in competition with Thai and Burmese wares to meet increasing East-West maritime ceramics route demand.⁶⁵ Thus rather than suppressing foreign trade subsequent to his 1471 CE victory, Lê Thánh Tông in effectively destroying the longstanding fluid Jiaozhi Yang networked community by his conquest of Vijaya in 1471 CE, followed with the consolidation of regional ceramics production in Đại Việt, made Vân Đồn the central node in a new regionally networked maritime trade community.

In the sixteenth century the new port at Hội An rose at the site of the Jiuzhou ('Old District') port of the former Cham Amarāvati realm, and became the centre of the rising alternative Nguyễn Vietnamese polity on Đại Việt's southern border.⁶⁶ Ultimately the Vietnamese took over regional coastline commercial primacy from the Chams in the transitional intensifying era of international maritime trade. Victory over Champa put them in a position to monopolize coastal access to the highland products most desired by that era's international

traders. Although highlanders still had the option of trading overland with their Khmer neighbours to the west, by the early sixteenth century upstream territories were loosely incorporated into the Vietnamese state. The Vietnamese not only seized Champa's profitable trade with China, but also imposed a tributary trade system on the remaining southern Cham port polities.⁶⁷

In the south, the remaining Champa polities at Kauthara and Pāṇḍuraṅga remained a factor in the coastal trade, as new regional temples represented by the Po Klong Garai and Po Rome temple complexes document the continuing vitality of the Cham culture. Strategically, from the sixteenth century the Mekong Delta became important in allowing Western, Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cham maritime diaspora upstream shipping access to the new post-Angkor Cambodian heartland centred at the intersection of the Tonlé Sap and Mekong rivers – and what is today Phnom Penh, where Laotian textiles and Cambodian deerskins became major post-1500 international exports.⁶⁸